Images of towns in Frankish Morea: the evidence of the 'Chronicles' of the Morea and of the Tocco

Annetta Ilieva

Published online: 20 Nov 2013.

Submit your article to this journal

View related articles

Images of towns in Frankish Morea: the evidence of the 'Chronicles' of the Morea and of the Tocco[1]

ANNETTA ILIEVA

In the summer of 1205 Raimbault of Vacqueyras, the troubadour who had shared Boniface of Monferrat's exploits in central Greece, exclaimed enthusiastically in Salonica:

'Never did Alexander or Charlemagne or King Louis had such a glorious expedition, nor could the valiant lord Aimeri or Roland with his warriors win by might, in such noble fashion, such a powerful empire as we have won, whereby our faith is in ascendant; for we have created emperors and dukes and kings, and *have manned strongholds near the Turks and Arabs, and opened up the roads and ports from Brindisi to St. George's Straits*'.[2]

This exalted statement clearly speaks of the notion of frontierness and expansion that, among other imperatives, governed the behaviour of the Franks who had gloriously conquered Constantinople and established an empire of their own on the ruins of Byzantium.[3] It turned out that a new frontier was in store for them: the conquest

---

1. This is the expanded version of a paper presented at the Symposium 'Towns and Cities in Byzantium Peloponnesus' (Monemvasia, 24-26 July 1992). I am grateful to Dr. H. Kalligas for the financial support that facilitated my participation. For advice and assistance throughout my greatest debt is to A. Bryer. J.M. Wagstaff, E. Jeffreys, J. Pryor, and P. Lock all read an earlier draft and their comments and provoking questions helped to elucidate some thorny issues and feeble arguments. G. Smith of The Birmingham University Computing Service spent many hours in solving a technical problem and P. Baird very kindly made remarks resulting in the improvement of my English. The maps were drawn by T. Tomov. Finally, I should thank J. Haldon and the Editorial Board of *BMGS* for having accepted this publication for *BMGS*.

2. *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. and trans. J. Linskill (The Hague 1964) 244. The italics are mine.

3. On the internal and external frontiers that the west experienced during the Middle Ages see R.I. Burns, 'The significance of the frontier in the Middle Ages', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (eds.), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford 1989) 313.

of the Peloponnese dragged on for some fifty years, only to be challenged very soon by a Byzantine return.

It is also important that Raimbault, who came from Provence, does not mention conquered towns as foreposts or symbols of the recent crusading achievement in the East. But scholars have assumed that subsequent Frankish colonisation in Greece had, in fact, an urban character.[4] Besides, a closer look into Villehardouin's chronicle has revealed how Villehardouin's interplay between *ville* and *cité* demonstrates the significance urban centres, as 'the true masters of space', had for the participants in the Fourth Crusade.[5]

Indeed, the urban theme, a fundamental theme in the Bible, is indicative of the twelfth-century literature in vernacular French. J. Le Goff has studied some of its works to investigate the nature of this phenomenon. *Le Charroi de Nîmes, a chanson de geste* of 1135-65, presents a town that fascinates the knights.[6] In *La Prise d'Orange*, a late twelfth-century *chanson*, 'the fascination becomes a veritable obsession'.[7] However, in his last romance, *Perceval*, Chrétien de Troyes reversed the city's positive image: here 'the city is hell'.[8] Thus, by the end of the century, while the marvellous-town

---

4. D. Jacoby, 'Les États latins en Romanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204-1330 environ)', XVe Congrès International d'Études byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports, I.3: La symbiose dans les États latins formés sur les territoires byzantins: phénomènes sociaux, économiques, religieux et culturels (Athens 1976) 18.

5. J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade: Villehardouin et Clari*, 2 vols., I (Paris 1973) 70-2 (Dufournet's attention here is focused on the capture of Zara). Cf. P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, English trans. M. Jones (Oxford 1992) 101.

6. J. Le Goff, 'Guerriers et bourgeois conquérants: l'image de la ville dans la littérature française du XIIe siècle', in *idem, L'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris 1985) 213. Thus, Nîmes is a city 'forte et puissante', 'bone', 'bien pourvue', 'fort garnie/vaillant', 'belle' (*ibidem* 209, 211, 213, 218 n. 1); Orange is 'une admirable cité/ville', 'fameuse et riche', 'opulente' (*ibidem* 217, 219); Narbonne is 'grande' and 'puissante' (*ibidem* 219).

7. *Ibidem* 220-1, English trans. A. Goldhammer, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago and London 1988) 160 (hereafter its corresponding pages will be given in square brackets). The reader is flooded with epithets: the town is 'bone', 'riche', 'magnifique', 'admirable', 'fort', 'vaillant', 'grant', 'garnie', 'opulent', 'bele'. For a sample of Villehardouin's repertory of adjectives and adverbs in similar contexts see P.M. Schon, *Studien zum Stil der frühen französischen Prosa (Robert de Clari, Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Henri de Valenciennes)* (Frankfurt 1960) 218 (= *Analecta Romanica. Beihefte zu den romanischen Forschungen*, Heft 8).

8. Le Goff, 'Guerriers et bourgeois' 229-30 [166-7].

theme already precursed the urban mythology of the next two hundred years, the focus of urban imagination still fluctuated between 'the vision of the city of paradise and the city of hell, between Jerusalem and Babylon'.[9] And then came the shock of Constantinople; fiction met reality.

The Peloponnese was not Constantinople, however. The scarcity of sources has nourished again and again controversial debates on Byzantine provincial cities, especially in the Dark Ages.[10] It was then that by the use of *kastron* the Byzantines came to express an understanding of the town mainly as a fortified, safe shelter.[11] Later, at the close of the twelfth-century which witnessed the end of the economic recovery in Greece, the hitherto open, lower or outer town may have also been fortified, as at Corinth and Patras.[12] The fortress — which usually was the residence of the town governor and the dwelling place of local achons — topped the upper town. But in general, what little evidence we have suggests that the late Byzantine town 'tended to be physically unstructured' although it may have developed the 'socio-environmental units' inherited by the Turks as mahalles.[13]

The Peloponnese could not compete with the capital in the sphere of literary activity either. Perhaps we shall never learn how the locals viewed the urban settlements in the peninsula during the ups and downs

9. *Ibidem* 241 [175-6].

10. Some years ago John Teal even assumed that 'Byzantine urban history may never achieve the maturity of which its West European counterpart may boast'. — 'Byzantine urbanism in the military hand-books', in H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy and A.L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Medieval City* (New Haven and London 1977) 201. It is beyond the scope and purpose of this study to discuss these issues.

11. G.L. Kurbatov and G.E. Lebedeva, 'City and state in Byzantium in the age of transition from Antiquity to Feudalism', in *Stanovlenie i razvitie ranneklassovyh obščestv: gorod i gosudarsvo* (St. Petersburg 1986) 151 (in Russian); C. Foss, 'Kastron', in A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., II (Oxford 1991) 1112 (hereafter *ODB*); idem, 'Fortifications', *ibidem* 798.

12. A. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205-1262): Socio-cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens 1991) 84. For the recovery see C. Foss and A. Kazhdan, 'Cities', in *ODB*, I 466.

13. A. Bryer, 'The structure of the late Byzantine town: *dioikismos* and the *mesoi*', in idem, *Peoples and Settlements in Anatolia and the Caucasus, 800-1900* (London: Var. repr. 1988), no. X 263-4.

of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth-century. The first 'bank' of evidence that stimulates an investigation of the imaginary is a product of a later age of foreign domination and it is noteworthy that what we have to deal with is history writing in the vernacular.

I.   The texts

The manuscript tradition of the Greek 'Chronicle of the Morea' which is written in the fifteenth-syllable 'political' metre of Greek popular verse and covers the period of 1095 to 1292, when it breaks off abruptly, is represented by five manuscripts.[14] The earliest and the most anti-Greek manuscript — manuscript *H* of the 1380s — has an imperfect beginning. Manuscript *T* derives from *H* and is the possible start for the sixteenth-century prose translation into Italian represented by a single manuscript with an imperfect beginning referring to ca. 1097 and abrupt ending with the events of 1292.[15] The other three manuscripts having the Greek text constitute a distinct group. The most important of them is manuscript *P*, dated between 1515-1530. *H* and *P* differ in their proper-name forms, in grammatical categories, in word order, and in their mood. *P* softens or abandons *H*'s anti-Greek passages and Frankish terms: its compiler was an Orthodox Greek who possibly lived in Italy in the fifteenth- or the beginning of the sixteenth-century.

The French 'Chronicle of the Morea' in prose is represented by a single manuscript of the early fifteenth-century: it was copied at the court of the Duke of Burgundy by a Picardian or Wallonian scribe.[16] The text commences at about the same point as in *P*, but

14. On what follows see in more detail *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt (London 1904) xv-xviii. Schmitt edited the two most important Greek manuscripts, *H* and *P*, on facing pages and supplied readings from the Turin manuscript, or *T*. Hereafter his edition will be referred to as *Chronikon*. The relevant pages of *H*'s translation into English (*Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. H.E. Lurier [New York and London, 1964]) will appear in square brackets.

15. 'Versione italiana inedita della cronaca di Morea', in *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, ed. C. Hopf (Berlin 1873), no. XXIV 414-68 (hereafter *Cronaca*).

16. On what follows see J. Longnon (ed.), *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)* (Paris 1911) lxxxv-lxxxvii (hereafter *Livre*) and the corrections by D. Jacoby, 'Quelques considérations sur les versions de la «Chronique de Morée»', *Journal des Savants* (1968) 134f.

the narrative breaks off at the events of 1305.[17] It is preceded by what P. Schreiner recently called a 'short chronicle' which starts with the Christian capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and mentions events as late as 1333.[18] In the prologue the compiler informs us that he will tell his tale not as he had found it written but as briefly as he could (para 1). In general, *Livre*'s text is much shorter and often clearer than that of *H* but nonetheless they are closely related to each other.

The Aragonese (or Castilian?) 'Chronicle of the Morea' in prose has come down to us in a single manuscript dated 23/24 October 1393. It was compiled for the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Juan Fernández de Heredia, who resided at Avignon from 1382 until his death in 1396.[19] The narrative begins with events of ca. 1200 and reaches 1376/7.

Few sources of medieval Greek history have inspired more con-troversies than the 'Chronicle of the Morea'. Through the years debate has been focused on the relationship between the French/Greek versions and a supposed *Uhrtext*, on the social status of their compilers and the nature of their audiences. The scope of this study only allows a brief historiographical note on recent research. Some twenty-five years ago D. Jacoby developed the hypothesis that the Greek version is a translation of *Livre* which in turn derives from a subsequently lost original French text composed between 1292 and 1320.[20] Ca. 1320-24, he claims, this original version was greatly abridged and then a 'table of contents', represented by the chronological table in *Livre*'s Ms, was extracted to precede the abrégé. Ca. 1341-6 the abbreviated text was expanded with some interpolations.[21] The

---

17. D.M. Nicol, 'The end of the Livre de la Conqueste: a chronological note', *BF* 12 (1987) 211-20.

18. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 pts., II (Vienna 1977) 628.

19. *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea . . .*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva 1885) xiii, 160 (hereafter *Libro*). A new edition is now in press. For Heredia see A. Luttrell, 'Greek histories translated and compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, master of Rhodes, 1377-1396', *Speculum* 35 (1960) 401-7. For the dating see Jacoby, 'Quelques considérations' 160 n. 115, 161-2, 174.

20. See no. 16 above.

21. Jacoby, 'Quelques considérations', 134-50, 181-9; *idem*, 'La littérature française dans les États latins de la Méditerranée orientale', in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin* (Modena 1984) 638, 643-4.

Greek version was translated from this second revision and should be dated to 1341/6-1377/88. The compiler of *H*'s text was a Greek archon — a convert to Catholicism assimilated to the 'class' of the French knights in the Principality and writing for a Greek Moreot public of the same class. It is possible that he belonged to the entourage of Erard III Le Maure, the lord of Arkadia in Messenia who died shortly after 5 July 1388.[22]

As for *Libro*, Jacoby postulates three stages in its history. The first, of 1378-81, he locates in the Morea, and again in the entourage of Erard III.[23] The language of this first redaction was French, but its compiler used *Chronikon* extensively and abbreviated what he could from a complete copy of the French version of 1320/4 at his disposal.[24] The second stage concerned the transfer of the Moreot text to Avignon and its subsequent translation into Aragonese (or Castilian).[25] The third stage, shortly before 23/24 October 1393, involved incorporation of additional sources and a revision of which *Libro* was the final result.[26]

Jacoby's conclusions were challenged by M. Jeffreys who believes that it was *Livre* which was translated from *H*'s Greek version.[27] Over the years, he steadily stayed behind the idea that this 'original' Greek poem, produced about 1320 'under the patronage of the Greek nobles', is of highly formulaic character and is closely connected with a traditional oral type of composition.[28] But as R. Beaton has observed, many of the repetitions noted by the Jeffreys 'contain learned linguistic elements [and] were traditional within a written

22. D. Jacoby, 'Jean Laskaris Kalopheros, Chypre et la Morée', *REB* 26 (1968) 199-200, 218-9; idem, 'Quelques considérations' 140, 187.

23. *Ibidem* 162 and nn. 126-7, 163, 169, 177-8.

24. *Ibidem* 177. This statement should be complemented by what Jacoby says earlier on p. 148: the redaction of the French version of 1341/6 or a copy of it was used by the author of the Moreot text compiled between 1377 and 1381.

25. *Ibidem* 163, 178 n. 212.

26. *Ibidem* 179-80.

27. 'The Chronicle of Morea: priority of the Greek version' *BZ* 68/2 (1975) 304-50.

28. See recently 'Ἡ γλῶσσα τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τοῦ Μορέως — Γλῶσσα μιας προφορικῆς παράδοσης', in *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Text und Ausgabe* (Cologne 1986) 149, 152-4, 157; M. and E. Jeffreys, 'The Oral background of Byzantine popular poetry', *Oral Tradition* I/3 (1986) 518.

rather than an oral medium'.[29]

The contrasting hypotheses just summarised are hard to reconcile. My own research has shown that Jacoby's view should be revised. The nature and dating of the 'table of contents' are to be reconsidered in the light of the Byzantine 'short-chronicle' tradition, while a common Old French prototype for *Livre* and *Chronikon* has again re-emerged from oblivion.[30] In fact, this study provides some arguments in favour of such a stand. The evidence of the 'Tocco chronicle' is used here to illustrate certain peculiarities of the Moreot texts.

This 'chronicle', praising the brothers Leonardo II (+ 1418/1419) and Carlo I Tocco — *despotes* of Ioannina since 1411 and of Epiros since 1415 — has not been seriously investigated since G. Schirò edited it in 1975.[31] Its earliest manuscript, *Vaticanus gr. 1831*, was completed by June 1429 and shows some acquaintance with *Chronikon* as in *H*.[32] Schirò believed that it is an autograph produced in Ioannina.[33] His argumentation was challenged, on different grounds, by J. Koder, A. Kazhdan, and — in a recent conversation — by E. Zachariadou.[34]

29. *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge 1989) 177; *idem*, 'Orality and the reception of late Byzantine vernacular literature', *BMGS* 14 (1990) 177.

30. The gist of the argument has been presented in a paper at the First International Medieval Congress in Leeds (4-7 July 1994). It is to be found in more detail in my monograph *The Chronicles of the Morea, of Leontios Machairas and of the Tocco. A Comparative Study*. Unfortunately, its publication might have to be postponed awaiting the new edition of the Aragonese version by A. Luttrell.

31. *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo: Prolegomeni, testo critico e traduzione* (Rome 1975) (hereafter *Chron. Tocco* for the text and 'Prolegomeni' for Schirò's introduction).

32. The other manuscript, *Vaticanus gr. 2214* (first half of the sixteenth century) is an apograph by the scribe Nicholas Sophianos. — Schirò, 'Prolegomeni' 142, 156-61. On the relation between *Vat. gr. 1831* and *H* see J. Koder, 'Die Chronik der Tocco: Zum Metrum und zum Verhältniss zur Chronik von Morea', *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 383-92.

33. 'Prolegomeni' 145-9.

34. For Zachariadou's earlier view see 'Οἱ χίλιοι στίχοι στὴν ἀρχὴ τοῦ Χρονικοῦ τῶν Τόκκο', *Ἠπειρωτικὰ χρονικά* 25 (1938) 159 and n. 4. For Koder's view see op. cit. 383. Kazhdan also claims that the 'chronicle' was created 'either in Italophone circles or in a mixed Grego-Italian milieu'. — 'Some notes on the "Chronicle of the Tocco" ', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milano 1982) 170. Cf. A. Ilieva, 'The image of the Morea (Frankish and Byzantine) in the mentality of a Gianniotes: the author of the Tocco Chronicle', in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου γιά τό Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου ('Αρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990)* (Arta 1992) 309-12. The Gianniote provenance of the 'chronicle' has been challenged by G. Papatrechas, 'Χρονικὸ τῶν Τόκκων: Μιά ἔκδοχή γιά τόν τόπο καταγωγῆς τοῦ συγγραφέα-στιχουρυοῦ', *Ἱστορικογεωγραφικά* 3 (1989-1990) 289-292.

II. Urban and non-urban settlements as in the 'Chronicles'

It has been remarked that Villehardouin consistently uses *cité* in opposition to *chastel* and *terre*.[35] Unfortunately, there are no general studies of the urban 'terminology' offered by the literature in Greek vernacular.[36] It may then be of some importance to consider briefly what our 'chronicles' have to say about the **towns outside the Peloponnese**.

In the Greek texts Constantinople bears the palm and is most often designated as 'the *Polis*'. Then, in descending order, follow the labels 'Constantine's *polis*',[37] 'the *chora* of the *Polis*',[38] 'Konstantin-oupolis',[39] 'the *polis* of Constantine',[40] 'the *chora*'.[41] Once it even seems to have been named «ἡ Βυζαντία».[42] It is worth mentioning that in most of the cases singled out above the French version has

35. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade* 69 (as in n. 5 above) where he also points out that in twelfth-century Old French literature in prose *ville* is more frequently used than *cité* although their usage is indiscriminate in verse. Cf. Le Goff, 'Guerriers et bourgeois' 210 (as in n. 6 above) for the loose nomenclature of 'château, cité, bourg ou ville, donjon ou place forte' of *Le Charroi de Nîmes*.

36. See the brief entry under *polis* in the *ODB* (III 1692) where A. Kazhdan, referring to the 'Chronicle of the Tocco' (on Ioannina), assumes that 'in the 15th C. in addition to *polis* many terms were used for town, esp. *chora* and *kastro* . . . , and the distinction between them was vague'. E. Kriaras (*Λεξικό τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας, 1100-1669* [Thessalonike 1969—] *sub kastro(n)*) notes that *kastro(n)* still meant a fortress (*phrourio*: the reference is to *H*'s v. 2868) and was also used in the sense of a fortified town. The volumes of his *Dictionary* containing entries on *polis* and *chora* are yet to come.

37. «ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις». This expression is of a formulaic nature according to M. Jeffreys, 'Formulas in the Chronicle of Morea', *DOP* 20 (1973) 179. Concerning the fall of Constantinople it is used on equal grounds with 'the *Polis*', i.e. *Chronikon* vv. 838*H*. Cf. *Chron. Tocco* vv. 2119, 2122, 3415, 3506, 3516, 3529.

38. *Chronikon* vv. 532 (*Livre* para 37), 583, 629*H*-30 (*Livre* para 47), 855*H* (*Livre* para 56), 1027*H*. Cf. *Cronaca* 420. For its translation as 'the city of Constantinople' see Schmitt's 'Index of notable Greek words' 622 and Lurier (both as in n. 14 above) 113 n. 14.

39. *Chronikon* v. 8701.

40. «ἡ πόλις Κωνσταντίνου»: *Chronikon* v. 447*H*. Here *P* has «ἡ πόλις τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ μέγα Κωνσταντίνου».

41. *Chronikon* v. 848*H*. The whole passage runs: 'Our Franks returned to the City [«εἰς τὴν Πόλην»], and when they arrived at the harbour, they surrounded the town [«τὴν χώραν»] by land and by sea' (vv. 846*H*-8 [91]). Cf. *Livre* para 56.

42. *Chronikon*, vv. 8761-2 [314]. Here *Livre* (para 605) has 'en Constantinople'.

'la cité de Co(n)stantinoble'.[43] However, the passages corresponding to those in which *Chronikon* makes use of *chora* deserve special attention. In all three of them the French compiler abandons 'la ville' for 'la cité' or vice versa and in this way manages to achieve an opposition between a concrete and debasing notion and a general and imposing image.[44]

Other towns worthy of the titles *polis*/'città'/'cité'/'ciudat' are Rome,[45] Antioch,[46] Paris,[47] Venice,[48] Castagnola delle Lanze in Piedmont,[49] Zara,[50] Thessalonike,[51] Adrianople,[52] Ioannina.[53] Jerusalem is a strange ommission here.[54]

The following expressions are also most interesting: «τὰ κάστρη καὶ τὲς χώρες»/'castelli e terre'/'villes et chastiaux'/'ciudades (tierras) he(y) castiellos'.[55] They occur in passages referring to places both outside and inside the Peloponnese. A full list would

43. See for example *Livre* paras 55, 77, 84 and *Chronikon* vv. 840-1*H*, 1203-6, 1292.

44. For the concordance see nn. 38 and 41 above. Most eloquent is para 47: The Greeks killed all French whom they found in the town ('ville') of Constantinople. But as it was pleasing to God no *gentilz homme* was then in the city (cité), only poor men of their retinue and men of trade. Cf. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade* 71-2.

45. *Chronikon* v. 781*H*.

46. *Ibidem* v. 86*P*; *Livre* para 4.

47. *Ibidem* para 11.

48. *Ibidem* paras 14-6; *Chronikon* v. 343*H* (but v. 349 puts *chora* in the doge's speech).

49. *Livre* para 12: 'cité de Lans'. Here *Chronikon* has «Λάτσα (*H*)/Λάντσα (*P*) . . . χώρα μεγάλη» (v. 226). In fact, this was 'a castle in the territory of Asti'. — D.E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1201-1204* (Leicester 1978) 27.

50. *Chronikon* v. 416; *Livre* paras 22-3. However, see v. 438 (*chora*) and para 24 ('ville'). The interplay between *cité* and *ville* here parallels what Dufournet (as in n. 44 above) has observed on the capture of Zara as presented by Villehadouin.

51. *Chronikon*, v. 1010; *Livre* para 69; *Libro* para 63.

52. *Cronaca* 421; *Livre* para 71. *Chronikon* (vv. 1084, 1165, 1170) has *chora* and *Livre* (paras 72, 79) — 'ville'. The motives behind the switch are the same as in the case of Zara.

53. *Chron. Tocco* vv. 2176, 3315. The 'Chronicle of the Morea' in turn, speaks of Ioannina as a *kastro*: vv. 8795*H*, 9007*P*.

54. *Chronikon* vv. 96-7*P*: the crusaders besieged the *chora* and 'entered it' [70].

55. It should be mentioned that M. Jeffreys (as in n. 37 above) has not included their Greek variant in his list of formulae. The phrasing is not peculiar to the 'Chronicle of the Morea' alone. Cf. for example the *Achilleis* v. 73*N* (p. 44 of Hesseling's edition) and the *History of Belisarius* vv. 158*N*, 234 Georghillas, 161*N*² (pp. 152-3 of Bakker's and Van Gemert's edition).

occupy too much space, but some cases are worth mentioning in view of similar phrasing in both Villehardouin and *Le Charroi de Nîmes*.[56] Alexios I Komnenos is said to have received *ta kastre kai tes chores* in Asia Minor that the crusaders had regained from the Seljuks.[57] A relevant Byzantine expression is to be found in Anna Comnena's passage describing Godfrey of Bouillon's oath to her father: 'namely, that whatever *cities and lands or fortresses* he should capture, which formerly were reckoned under the empire of the Greeks, he would hand over to the general, sent by the emperor for this very purpose'.[58] Having taken Antioch the crusaders were plundering and capturing *ta kastre kai tes chores* in Syria.[59] The Franks subdued Constantinople, crowned an emperor, took *ta kastre*, and distributed *tes chores* of all Romania.[60] After the victory at Adrianople Kaloyan devastated 'muchos tierras & castiellos'.[61] 'Sir Robert, full brother of the Emperor Baldwin . . . held suzerainty over *chores kai kastre* in Nymphos'.[62] Reportedly, Michael VIII

56. The Marshal of Romania consistently refers to 'the cities and the castles' disputed between the Franks, on the one hand, and the Greeks or the forces of Kaloyan, on the other: paras 391, 412, 418-9, 422 as in E. Faral's edition, vol. 2 (Paris 1939). 'Domaines, *châteaux, terres*, donjons, forteresses' are strong tempts to knights — 'pauvres bacheliers' (Le Goff, 'Guerriers et bourgeois' 210). See also the so-called *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* [of the 1230s], ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris 1871) 379 ('cil des castiaus et des cités'), 466 ('castiaus et viles'); *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)* [of the third quarter of the 13th c.], ed. M.R. Morgan (Paris 1982) 153 ('les citez et les chastiaus').

57. *Chronikon* v. 62; *Cronaca* 414.

58. X, IX 11 (226.11-7 of Leib's edn., vol. 2 [Paris 1967]), Engl. trans. in G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (Oxford and London 1929) 462. The French translation (p. 226) of «πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἢ φρούρια» is 'les villes, *contrées* ou forteresses'. Cf. J.H. Pryor, 'The oaths of the leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: fealty, homage — *pistis, douleia*', *Parergon* 2 (1984) 122 ('all towns, *districts*, and fortresses'); J Shepard, 'When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097-98', *BMGS* 12 (1988) 229 ('towns, *territories* or fortresses').

59. *Chronikon* vv. 88-9; *Cronaca* 414.

60. *Chronikon* vv. 1036-7. Cf. *Libro* paras 37 (referring to 'las ciudades & castiellos' of Byzantium with regard to June 1203), 52 (here the talk is about the Partition Treaty: the other 'barons and knights' were given 'tierras & castiellos').

61. *Ibidem* para 62.

62. *Chronikon* v. 1174*H* [101]. The passage should be referred to Henry of Hainault and Nymphaion near Smyrna. Cf. *Livre* para 78.

Palaiologos gave *choras* to some archons.[63] William of Champlitte 'would go to Romania to conquer some *kastre kai choras* to have as his estates'.[64]

It is obvious, as P. Topping long ago pointed out, that Lurier's consistent rendering of *chores* as 'towns' in these and other passages is questionable.[65] In such cases within the Tocco 'chronicle' Schirò has the Italian 'fortezze e paesi'.[66]

The issue is related to another problem of meaning — the connotation of *chora* as the outer or lower town. Here we come to the evidence concerning **settlements within the Peloponnese**.

Only once, as far as I can discover, is the term *polis* used in connection with an urban settlement in the peninsula: 'the large town [chora] of the city [*polis*] of Argos' is said to have lain 'in a plain like an opened tent'.[67] This usage seems indeed exceptional: the only *poleis* in the Peloponnesian 'short chronicles' are Nauplion and Monemvasia.[68] But Argos is labelled as 'cité'/'ciudat' in *Livre* and

63. *Chronikon* v. 1241. Cf. *Cronaca* 421: he gave 'castelli a questo e a quello'.

64. *Chronikon* v. 1383*H*. Here *P* has «κάστρη ἡ τόπους».

65. Topping suggests that the 'plural . . . must rather be rendered "(country) districts" or "lands" ': in *Speculum* XL/4 (1965) 741 (a review of Lurier's translation). As for the singular, Lurier ·(104 n. 88, 113 n. 14) renders *chora* both as 'town' and 'city' and occasionally as 'quarter' (e.g. in v. 1280 referring to Galata). His 'Sir Nicolas [Nicholas II of Saint-Omer] also built in the town of Maniatochori a castelet' [p. 298] for «. . . ἐποίησεν . . . στὴ χώραν τοῦ Μανιατοχωρίου, ἔναν μικρὸν καστέλλιν» [*Chronikon* vv. 8093-4] seems impossible. Cf. *Livre* para 554 ('first fermer la maison de Maniatecor quant il estoit sires'); *Chronikon* vv. 8069-70; A. Bon, *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)*, 2 vols., I (Paris 1969) 416, 435 (hereafter Bon, *La Morée*).

66. *Chron. Tocco* pp. 481, 483, 485 for vv. 3510, 3518, 3574. For him «τὰ χωρία» are again 'paesi' (pp. 485, 493 for vv. 3575, 3668), or, 'villaggi' (p. 493 for v. 3682). He also renders «ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀνδρούσας» by 'il paese di Andrusa' (p. 483 for v. 3539).

67. *Chronikon* vv. 1524-6 [113]. Lurier (n. 4 *ad loc.*) justifies his translation as 'distinguishing town from castle'. Here I would rather translate *chora* as 'lower town'. Cf. Schmitt (as in n. 38 above): 'the town of Argos'.

68. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, no. 32/10, I (Vienna 1975) 230 (a 'chronicle of Argos and Nauplion' compiled after the autumn of 1464, no. 41/5: 319-20 (a chronicle consisting of dated excerpts from a Monemvasiot source or other texts referring to Monemvasia; it may have been compiled by the Monemvasiot John Likinios and its only manuscript was copied after 1640). The second piece of evidence concerns the surrender of Nauplion and Monemvasia to the Turks (21-24 November 1540). Cf. *ibidem* II 580-1.

in the Aragonese text.[69]

On the other hand, several urban settlements have stock labels. In the 'Chronicle of the Morea' Andravida and Clarentza appear always as *chores*/'ville'/'villes'/'tierras'.[70] Andravida was 'an open town', 'without walls and a fortress'.[71] But Clarentza, the new metropolis created by the Franks, had a strong citadel defending the port below and an outer wall.[72] The Aragonese version then understandably speaks of 'la tierra y castiello de Clarenca' (para 217). The 'Chronicle of the Tocco' even mentions 'the walls of the *chora* and their 'iron gate' topped by a 'tower'.[73]

Patras, Corinth, Nikli, Veligosti and Lakedaimon are each most often labelled as *chora*/'terra' or 'città'/'cité'/'ciudat'.[74] What is more, describing the capture of the first two and of Argos the

When the same chronicle refers to the Venetian take over of Monemvasia [after 12 May 1462] the latter is labelled as *chora* (I 320). Cf. *ibidem* II 506. Nauplion, like Argos, is not frequently mentioned by the 'Chronicle of the Morea' but Monemvasia ranks second (*Chronikon*) and fifth (*Livre*) according to the data collected in the Indices and coming from a personal examination of the Greek text (see Figs. 1 and 2). References to the baronies/fiefs of the same name and their lords have not been taken into account. Of the repetitions only the meaningful ones have been included. Unfortunately, a computerised checking of the results was not possible at this stage of the study.

69. *Livre* paras 200 ('la cité et le chastel d'Argues'), 223, 870, 917 ('la cité d'Argues') but para 105: 'la ville de Corinte . . . et celle d'Argues'; *Libro* paras 93, 95, 212.

70. Both are mentioned quite often: Clarentza ranks first, third and fifth in my count (*Libro*, *Livre* and *Chronikon* resp.) while Andravida is first, second and fourth (*Chronikon*, *Libro* and *Livre*). Clarentza is the only *ville* appearing in the 'table of contents' (*Livre* p. 403).

71. *Chronikon* vv. 1428-9; *Livre* para 105. See also below.

72. Bon, *La Morée* 321, 322, 602-7. It is interesting to note that Clarentza was a striking exception to a general rule applied in the Holy Land where the crusaders did not construct any entirely new cities. There they might use an ancient site to build a castle in the 'shadow' of which 'civilian population settled' in the event, as was the case with Château Pèlerin. — J. Prawer, 'Crusader cities', in *The Medieval City* (as in n. 10 above) 180, 182.

73. *Chron. Tocco* vv. 560, 607f., 618-9, 629, 631-633. In fact, apart from the opposition between the *chora* and the *kastro* of Clarentza, in this episode concerning the Moreot expedition of Carlo I Tocco in 1407 the town as a whole appears both as a *chora* (v. 540, 556) and a *kastro* (vv. 653-4).

74. See Figs. 1-3. Regarding Nikli occasional confusion with Amyklai in Laconia should be taken into account. It is worth noting that Patras is the only *cité* in the 'table of contents' (*Livre* p. 403).

'Chronicle of the Morea' uses the opposition *chora — kastro*/'città — castello'/'cité — chastel'/'ciudat — castiello'.[75] Otherwise they are mentioned by name with no attributes to 'classify' them. Such an opposition is absent in *Chronikon*'s episodes describing how the Franks conquered Nikli and Veligosti.[76]

A contrast is also evident between *kastro* and *mpourkos*/'borgo'/ 'bourg'/'bourgo' on the one hand, and *kastro* and *(e)mporio(n)*, on the other.[77] For the Peloponnese we always find it in passages concerning surrender to an enemy force: the capture of Arkadia by the Franks in 1205-9?;[78] the burning of the *emporion* of Veligosti by the Byzantine troops in 1263;[79] the take over of Araklovon/ Bucelet in Skorta by Geoffrey of Briel the Younger in 1279;[80] the assault on the castle of Kalamata by the Slavs of Giannitza in 1292/4;[81] the capture of the castle of St. George in Skorta by

75. *Chronikon* vv. 1411, 1415-7, 1421 and *Livre* para 91 (on Patras). Cf. 'short chronicle' no. 32/43, I 236 (as in n. 68 above). On the siege of Akrocorinth, Sgouros's tactics and the construction of Mont Escovée see *Chronikon* vv. 1459-62, 1470-6; *Cronaca* 423-4; *Livre* paras 95-6; *Libro* paras 92-6, 99, 101, 105-6. On the capture of Argos see *Cronaca* 424. Cf. 'short chronicles' no. 32/27, I 233 and no. 33/60, I 254 (that portion of the chronicle was edited after 1470). Schreiner (III 69) translates the '*chora* of Argos' as 'Ort Argos'.

76. vv. 2024ff. This may be interpreted as implying that the outer towns of Nikli and Veligosti were not fortified. Both settlements may subsequently appear in attributive phrasing, e.g. the *kastro* of Nikli (*Chronikon* v. 4603) or the *chora* of Veligosti (*ibidem* v. 5467). In the allotment epidose (vv. 1931-4) it is the *kastra* of Veligosti and Nikli that are of importance, not the *chores*.

77. On the etymology of *emporion* see Zakythinos, *op. cit.*, 168 n. 2. The term is polysemantic and 'might designate a commercial quarter of a town, a market situated outside the urban fortifications, or a settlement which was in itself a marketplace'. — A. Kazhdan, 'Emporion' in *ODB*, I: 694. On the relation *kastron*/name/*emporion* see M. Živojinović, 'Settlements with Marketplace Status', *ZRVI* 24-5 (1986) 408. On the term *mpourkos* see Schmitt's Index (as in n. 38 above) 612: 'the surroundings of a castle'. Cf. Kriaras, *Λεξικό*, *sub mpourgos*. On the *burgus* in a medieval French context see A. Chédeville, 'De la cité à la ville, 1000-1150', in G. Duby (ed.), *Histoire de la France urbaine*, vol. 2 (Paris 1980) 59-61.

78. *Chronikon* vv. 1687*H* (here *P* has «εἰς τὸ ἔξω») and 1689: *mpourkos — kastro*.

79. *Ibidem* vv. 4665-6.

80. *kastro — mpourkos*: *Chronikon* vv. 8233-6*H* (v. 8236*P* has «ἐξώ τοῦ κάστρου»), 8240-4*H* (v. 8244*P* has «ἐκώχωρον»); *Cronaca* 463; *Livre* para 575; *Libro* para 435. See also below.

81. *Livre* paras 696, 741 (the 'bourg' was 'down below the castle'). See also below. It is noteworthy that the princely castle of Kalamata is the most frequently mentioned settlement in *Livre* (it also appears once in the 'table of contents' — p. 400).

106

Andronikos Asan in 1320;[82] the Frankish attack on the castle of Gardiki in Messenia in 1374.[83] Narrating about the Epirote expedition against Morea in 1407, the 'Tocco chronicle' specifically distinguishes the *mporio* within the *chora* of Clarentza (vv. 578-605) and opposes the *kastro* and the *mporio* in the unfortified *chora* of Vostitza during its sack by the Mistriots in 1422.[84] Once we also hear of a donjon and a 'bourg' — those of the castle of St. Helen in Skorta.[85]

III. Functions

1. *Loci* emitting power

The 'Chronicle of the Morea' praises Andravida, the administrative centre of the Principality, as 'the most splendid town in the plain of Morea'.[86] Although Philip of Savoy had a hostel in Clarentza, he stayed 'more willingly' in Andravida — 'to the delight of the noblemen of the land and for the sake of the amusements and the things that he and his men had [there] in abundance, more than in Clarentza'.[87] But despite the attractions of Elis where several princely residences were situated, the court of the Prince often moved either to Corinth, to Lakedaimon-Mistra, or to Nikli and our texts are fully aware of this decentralisation. Corinth, we are told by the Greek compiler, was 'the capital which governed all of the Peloponnesos, which is included in Morea' (vv. 1445-9*H* [110]). The Aragonese version adds to this picture by informing us that William [II] of Villehardouin [1246-1274/8] 'had the castle of Corinth

---

82. *Libro* paras 648, 651: 'castiello' — 'burguo'. The castle appears thrice in the 'table of contents': *Livre* pp. 400, 404.

83. *Libro* paras 714-6: 'burguo' — 'castiello'.

84. vv. 3756, 3759, 3774, 3780, 3792, 3796, 3800. It was the *mporia* of both towns that bade for pillage. On the market as the central place in the twelfth-century town in the west see *Le Charroi de Nîmes* and Le Goff's comments — 'Guerriers et bourgeois' 213 (as in n. 6 above).

85. *Livre* paras 928-9. On more details see below.

86. *Chronikon* vv. 1426-7 [109]. Cf. *Livre* paras 92, 105 ('la meillor/maistre ville de la Morée').

87. *Ibidem* paras 858, 871.

very well repaired and had very beautiful palaces made in it'.[88]

Lakedaimon in turn, is said to have been 'a large town with towers and good walls, all well mortared'.[89] There was a princely palace in it.[90] But after 1262 its situation changed for the worse:

> 'Most of the Romans of that town had gone with their families to the castle of Mistra. And when the prince found the town empty of the native castle troops, he was very sorry. . . He immediately assigned and gave their houses to certain others whom he put to live therein, **who were Franks of the land**. . . He supplied the town of Lakedaemonia; he placed troops in it and ordered that ''they build it up and strengthen it in any way they needed'''.[91]

The French version, however, claims that 'the greater part of the Greeks had . . . gone over to Mistra because the emperor's men had taken them away. . . Then . . . [the prince] manned their houses and lands and possessions *with Latins and Greeks*' (para 387).

Nikli and Veligosti, too, appear as 'the chief . . . [towns] in all Morea'.[92] Nikli had a princely palace as well.[93]

2. Defence

The Greek version of the 'Chronicle of the Morea' tells that at the time of the conquest the Peloponnese had twelve *kastra*.[94] Their subsequent adaptation and eventual extension have been meticulously studied by A. Bon.[95] Indeed, repairing, additions or even demolition

---

88. *Libro* para 216. Cf. J. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin: Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva 1978) 37, who links the episode to Geoffrey I of Villehardouin (1209-1226/31). *The castle of Corinth*, coupled with *those of Monemvasia* and *Nauplion*, is also reported to have had the best harbour for connections with *Constantinople. — Chronikon* vv. 2765-7; *Livre* para 189.

89. *Chronikon* vv. 2052-3 [1311]; *Cronaca* 430. Cf. *Livre* paras 329, 385.

90. *Libro* para 291.

91. *Chronikon* vv. 5606-5619*P* [234].

92. *Chronikon* vv. 1752-3*H* [121]. Here *P* has «μείζοντες» — bigger.

93. *Chronikon* vv. 4410-2*H* puts it in the *chora* while *P* specifies that it was in the *kastro*.

94. *Chronikon* vv. 1403-6; *Cronaca* 422. Cf. Ilieva, *Frankish Morea* 197-8. The *kastra* which put up resistance were more than twelve: Patras, Pontikokastro, Araklovon, Arkadía, Modon, Coron, Kalamata, Lakedaimon, Nikli, Veligosti, Monemvasia, Argos, Nauplion and Akrocorinth.

95. See n. 65 above.

seemed necessary at times; it is interesting to see what changes have been noted by our texts. In the early 1260s the Franks had to encircle *Andravida* with a fosse to guard it against the Byzantine troops.[96] After the events of 1292-4 which showed the extent of the threat from the Taygetos Slavs the donjon walls of the 'great castle of *Kalamata*' were elevated to a greater height.[97]

On the other side, when in 1296 the Greeks took back *Nikli* they were convinced that it was extremely difficult to defend — as it lay in the plain. Thus, they destroyed it and erected two castles — *Mouchli* and *Tsepiana* — 'up there on the mountain to control the entire plain [below]'.[98] Later, in June 1302, during the revolt *in Skorta* the Greeks burnt down the donjon and the 'bourg' of *the castle of St. Helen*: they saw that it stood 'in a weak place' and could not be retained 'against the power of the Latins'.[99] They also pulled down the walls of *the castle of Crievecueur* and set fire to everything. However, they did not take *the castle of Beaufort*: it had 'a nice tower, high and large, and [was] walled with good towers of lime and sandstone, and manned with good arbalesters, on all sides, and with good sergeantry and a prudent castellan'.[100]

Among the newly built fortresses *Maïne* and *Mistra*, together with the old *Monemvasia* and *Akrocorinth*, were noted as 'the keys' to William II of Villehardouin's land.[101]

Most of the notes just examined refer to castles and not to fortified towns. This is also the overall impression we get from the 'table of contents' where, as has been mentioned above, Clarentza and Patras

96. *Livre* para 355; *Chronikon* v. 5038H.

97. *Livre* para 693.

98. *Libro* para 485. Cf. Bon, *La Morée* 182; N.K. Moutsopoulos, «Νίκλι — Μούχλι», in *Ε' Πανελλήνιο ιστορικό συνέδριο: Πρακτικά* (Thessaloniki 1984) 158 (he dates the event to 1294).

99. *Livre* para 929. Cf. Bon, *La Morée* 178-9.

100. *Livre* para 930.

101. *Libro* para 298. Mistra ranks third in *Chronikon* and ninth in *Livre*.

are the only towns to appear. Once we hear of the castle of Modon having been refortified by the Venetians.[102]

3. Power within the towns

The archons. Our sources speak only of 'the archons'/'the first' in *Constantinopolitan* society but a distinction is drawn between archons and common folk in the social picture of both western and Peloponnesian towns.[103] The Greek and the French versions of the 'Chronicle of the Morea' suggest that *Venetian* citizens can be viewed only as 'the *megistanoi*'/'the archons, the protoi'/'les nobles hommes'/ 'le gentil homme', on the one side, and there is 'to koinon'/'le peuple', on the other.[104]

On Peloponnesian soil this phrasing refers to *Andravida* only but there is also the pairing of its archons and 'vourgeseoi'/'toute la bonte gent'.[105] The Aragonese version mentions 'los gentiles hombres who were' in *Monemvasia* at the time of its surrender to the Franks.[106] The «λίος λαός» of the *chora* of *Corinth* who 'carried arms' in 1205 is mentioned once.[107] We also learn that the 'bourg' of *the castle of St. Helen* was the place where in 1302 'the archers . . . lived to

102. *Livro* p. 401. This is dated to 1294(?). Modon is labelled as *cité* by Villehardouin (paras 328-9). Other castles mentioned in the 'table of contents' are, to repeat, Kalamata and St. George; *Skorta* is also represented by the castles of St. Helen, Crivecuer, Karytaina, and Mategrifon [Akova, on the border with Mesarea]; *Elis* — by Clermont [Chlemoutsi] and Beauvoir [Pontiko]; *Corinthia* — by Poliphant [Polyphengos] (*Livre* pp. 400, 401, 403, 405).

103. *Chronikon* vv. 554 ('the young archons' in the City), 595. Cf. *Livre* para 54: 'li autre gentil homme'. This distinction was familiar to the Western sources at the time of the conquest. — Ilieva, *Frankish Morea* 95 with the references there cited.

104. *Chronikon* vv. 342-3, 351-2; *Livre* para 16.

105. *Chronikon* vv. 1435 and 2255-6; *Livre* paras 152, 154.

106. *Libro* para 212. The Mamonas, Daimonogiannes and Sophianos who delivered the keys of *the castle of Monemvasia* to William II of Villehardouin were given gifts in the Byzantine style — precious clothes, horses and lands: *Chronikon* vv. 2943-55. On the problem concerning the Greek archons and their identity see Ilieva, *Frankish Morea*, 85ff. The archons of *Nikli*, *Lakedaimon* and *Mistra* should join the company of those of Andravida and Monemvasia just mentioned. See below.

107. *Chronikon* v. 1471*H* (here *P* has «ἄλλος λαός»). Was it the retinue of Leon Sgouros?

guard the country'.[108] Finally, referring to the 1420s, the 'Chronicle of the Tocco' speaks of the Greek inhabitants of *Mistra* as 'the archons and the citizens' or 'the megistanoi, the archons, all Mistriots . . . small and great' (vv. 3647, 3865-7).

The burgesses. The body of the freemen was not entirely amorphous in the cities of Outremer.[109] Generally speaking, the economically active part of the town, its 'bourgeois' part, was the 'bourg'.[110] The burgesses of the Principality are mentioned twice in the 'Chronicle of the Morea'.[111] Those of Andravida and Clarentza are specifically singled out.[112] It seems that in all these cases Franks are being referred to, although the status of the Greek urban population under the new regime is still debatable. It has been assumed that until the mid-fourteenth century free citizens have hardly ever been mentioned, apart from the archons.[113] The evidence of the 'Tocco chronicle' can be of some help here. For 1407 it speaks of the 'powerful and extremely rich archons' and the 'great, renowned and rich retailers of the *chora* of Clarentza' (vv. 649-50). To the chronicler of the Tocco family Clarentza appears as the horn of plenty: 'the town was nice and the mansions opulent . . . who is capable of recounting the goods, the wealth, the cloths, the attires of the town of Clarentza!' (vv. 648, 651-2).

IV. The landscape

Our sources show little, if any, interest in town morphology. What we can learn from our texts most often concerns settlements referred to as *kastra* or the upper fortified parts of towns.

---

108. *Livre* para 929. We know that the archers in Latin Morea were Greeks. — J. Longnon and P. Topping (eds.), *Documents sur le Régime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIVe s.* (Paris 1969) p. 65 l. 16. Cf. the «ἐξωχωρῖτες» left to guard the *chora* of Clarentza for the Prince during summertime. — *Chron. Tocco*, vv. 543-4, 566.

109. Prawer, 'Crusader cities' 194 (as in n. 72 above).

110. Le Goff, 'Guerriers et bourgeois', 225.

111. *Chronikon* vv. 3209, 8632*H*; *Livre* para 595.

112. *Chronikon* v. 5848; *Libro* paras 167, 565; *Livre* para 854. Long ago J. Longnon considered the bourgeoisie of Clarentza to have formed 'a financial aristocracy': *Livre* ci, on the evidence of para 794 where this social group is said to have lent money for the ransom of the barons captured by Roger of Lloria in 1292.

113. Jacoby, 'Les États latins' 35, 41, 48 (as in n. 4 above).

In 1279 Geoffroy of Briel the Younger managed to regain by fraud the castle of *Araklovon*.[114] While pretending to suffer from a stomach disorder and to be in need of the medicinal water in the wells of the castle, he was given 'the best chamber of the tower', where the castellan himself had a chamber.[115] The gate of the castle was made of wood.[116] Below, in the 'bourg' there was a tavern where the castellan and the sergeants of the castle used to go.[117]

In 1292 or 1294 'the Slavs of Giannitza' managed to take by fraud another castle, that of *Kalamata*, in the sector of the donjon described as being 'entirely outside the castle'.[118]

We frequently hear of prisons in Peloponnesian castles. One passage that is worth mentioning concerns the twelve 'villani' who were found in the prison of *Araklovon* in 1279, during Geoffroy of Briel the Younger's adventure.[119]

The Greek version of the 'Chronicle of the Morea' speaks of mansions ('hospitia'/'oikoi') in *Coron*, *Lakedaimon* and *Monemvasia*.[120] In 1407 the archons (Greeks and Albanians) of the Epirote expedition against *Clarentza*, having captured the citadel, 'enjoyed and rejoiced in the palace where the chambers were very nice and well-appointed'.[121] In *Patras* the palace of the archbishop was also up in the castle.[122]

In the vicinity of *Nikli* a church is noted where the Franks used to make 'feasts and festivities'; 'another feast took place [at a distance of] three or four miles away from the [same] town'.[123]

114. On the episode see Bon, *La Morée* 155, 370-1 n. 2.
115. *Livre* para 565; *Libro* para 435.
116. *Chronikon* v. 8311; *Livre* para 572. Cf. *Libro* paras 436-40, speaking of many gates.
117. *Livre* para 571; *Cronaca* 463.
118. *Livre* para 694. Cf. Bon, *La Morée* 168.
119. *Cronaca* 464. Cf. *Chronikon* v. 8318 ('twelve villeins and Romans' [303]); *Livre* paras 572, 575 ('bien une douzaine'); *Libro* para 438 (four Greek prisoners only).
120. *Chronikon* vv. 1706*H/P* (in the *kastro* of Coron); 2060, 2317*H/P* (the princely mansions in the *chora* of Lakedaimon); 2922 (in the *kastro* of Monemvasia). On houses in the 'bourg' of the castle of St. Helen see *Livre* para 929.
121. *Chron. Tocco* vv. 635-9.
122. *Ibidem* vv. 3807-9.
123. *Libro* paras 476, 478.

VI. Perception

It is the *kastra* that receive most attention in our texts. An appropriate start for my survey is to be found in the telling statement by the 'Tocco chronicle': 'At that time [1407] and Clarentza, too, had the fame of being among the *beautiful and fine* castles of the Morea'.[124] Generally speaking, three groups of epithets are discernible.

1) The first stresses the position of the settlement in the tradition of the conquest and in the life of the Principality. 'Vasilikon', 'roial'/'real' and 'noble' all refer to *the castle of Corinth [Akrocorinth]*.[125] Furthermore, for the compiler of *Livre* 'noble' is not only *'the city of Corinth'* (paras 1009, 1016 referring to the parliament of 1305), but also are *the castles of Kalamata;*[126] *Nauplion* (paras 223, 870); *Monemvasia, Mistra, Grand Magne* (para 319); *Karytaina* (paras 349, 463);[127] *Bucelet* (para 578); *Mategrifon/Akova*[128] and *St. George* in the Skorta.[129] Two settlements receive the epithet of 'bonnes': the *the castle of Beaufort* in Skota[130] and *Lakedaimon*.[131].

2) The second expounds aesthetic notions. Here we find: 'lampros' — for *the castles of Mistra, Karytaina* and *Pontiko/Beauvoir* in Elis;[132] 'kalos/to kallion' — for those of *[Akro]corinth*,[133] *Pontiko* and *Akova*.[134]

3) The third singles out some castles as fortified places or weak strongholds: 'apolemiton';[135] 'phoveron' — for the castles of *[Akro]corinth*,

---

124. *Chron. Tocco* vv. 653-4.

125. *Chronikon* v. 2825; *Livre* paras 94 ('de toute Romanie'), 189, 194, 223, 662; 191, 195.

126. paras 125, 801. Cf. para 709: *the castle of Kalamata* is one of the best ['meillor'] castles in the Morea.

127. Cf. *Libro* para 653. Karytaina ranks fifth in the Aragonese version.

128. para 653. It tanks sixth in *Livre*.

129. paras 653, 816. Cf. *Libro* para 653.

130. *Livre* para 930.

131. *Livre* para 395: it was 'une bonne marche pour gents et pour chevaux'. Note the meaning of 'marche' as a 'borderland'. Cf. *Chronikon* vv. 5592-4.

132. *Chronikon* vv. 2991, 6615, 1190-1*H*. For the Greek version *the castle of Mistra* is «ὁμορφότερον», too (v. 4331).

133. *Ibidem* vv. 1445-9*H* ('of Romania'; v. 1445*P* — 'of Morea').

134. *Ibidem* vv. 1190*P*, 1915*P*. Does this phrasing parallel the Old French 'bon'? Cf. *Chr. Tocco* on Clarentza (as in n. 124 above) and below.

135. *Chronikon* v. 2898 (for the castle of *Monemvasia*).

and *Akova*;[136] 'dynaton' — for those of *[Akro]corinth, Nauplion, Monemvasia* and *Argos*;[137] 'mega' or 'omorphon dynamaris';[138] 'aphiron'/'aphiromenon'/'le plus fort'/'fort'/'mucho (or 'mas') fuert'/ 'fortissimo' — for *the castles of Argos*,[139] *Coron*,[140] *Araklovon*,[141] *Karytaina*,[142] *[Akro]corinth*,[143] *Monemvasia*,[144] *Gardiki*,[145] *Nauplion*;[146] 'kala sotarchismenon'/'(muy) bien guarnido' or 'mal furny de gent' — for those of *Karytaina*,[147] *[Akro]corinth, Nauplion, Monemvasia, Argos*,[148] *Crievecuer and St. Helen in Skorta*;[149] 'achamnon'/'achamnoteron'/'foible de murs' — for those of *Pontiko, Coron, Kalamata, the lower [Greek] castle of Nauplion*,[150] and *St. Helen*;[151] 'monaxon' — for the castle of *Kalamata*.[152] However, the 'Tocco chronicle' considers the latter as 'dynaton'.[153]

What is most important about these qualifications is that among the abstract, 'virtual' epithets the notion of nobility is peculiar to the French text while that of beautifulness — to *Chronikon*. As for the 'concrete' qualifications it is the Greek version that offers a greater variety. Certainly of importance is that Arkadía — the image of which is expected to be excelling in view of the suggested origin of both

136. *Ibidem* vv. 1445, 3159.

137. *Chronikon* vv. 2085-7.

138. *Ibidem* v. 2991 (for *the castle of Mistra*).

139. *Ibidem* v. 1524; *Cronaca* 430.

140. *Chronikon* v. 1698.

141. *Ibidem* vv. 1761, 8274; *Livre* para 571 (of the barony).

142. *Chronikon* v. 3154; *Libro* para 661.

143. *Ibidem* para 92; *Livre* para 104; *Cronaca* 430. Cf. Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, vol. 2 (Paris 1939), paras 301, 324 where Corinth and Nauplion are reported to have been among 'des plus fors/des plus fort *citez* desoz ciel/dou monde'.

144. *Ibidem*; *Livre* para 189: 'li plus loyal e li plus fort de tout le pays'.

145. *Libro* paras 714, 722.

146. *Cronaca* 430.

147. *Libro* para 661.

148. *Ibidem* para 92 (Akrocorinth); *Chronikon* vv. 2085-7.

149. *Livre* paras 928-9.

150. *Chronikon* vv. 1675; 1697 (for the castle of Coron which had low walls and towers); 1712*H*; 2873.

151. See n. 149 above.

152. *Chronikon* v. 1712*P*.

153. vv. 3542. Cf. v. 3524 for Mantinea.

H's text and *Libro* — is absent from the above picture. Finally, if we compare the repertory of the *chansons* (as in nn. 6-7 above) with that of our sources we shall notice the lack of opulence and grandeur and the emphasising on fortification.

VII. Some conclusions

In the bilingual and bicultural societies after the Fourth Crusade where a Greek milieu was forced to co-exist with a superimposed Frankish community, towns became both foci of togetherness or antagonism. Figs. 1-3 suggest that the French version has a stronger affiliation with the princely domain while *Chronikon* and *Libro* — with the administrative centres and the newly established Clarentza. No common French model can serve to explain such affiliations. Both the French and the Greek versions however betray an implicit notion of frontierness geographically located along the curve Monemvasia-Lakedaimon and Mistra-Veligosti-Nikli. Apart from Patras all the 'cités' of *Livre* lie along this curve, extended towards Argos and Corinth. For the Aragonese text the frontier 'captured' seems somewhat further to the northwest, in Skorta.
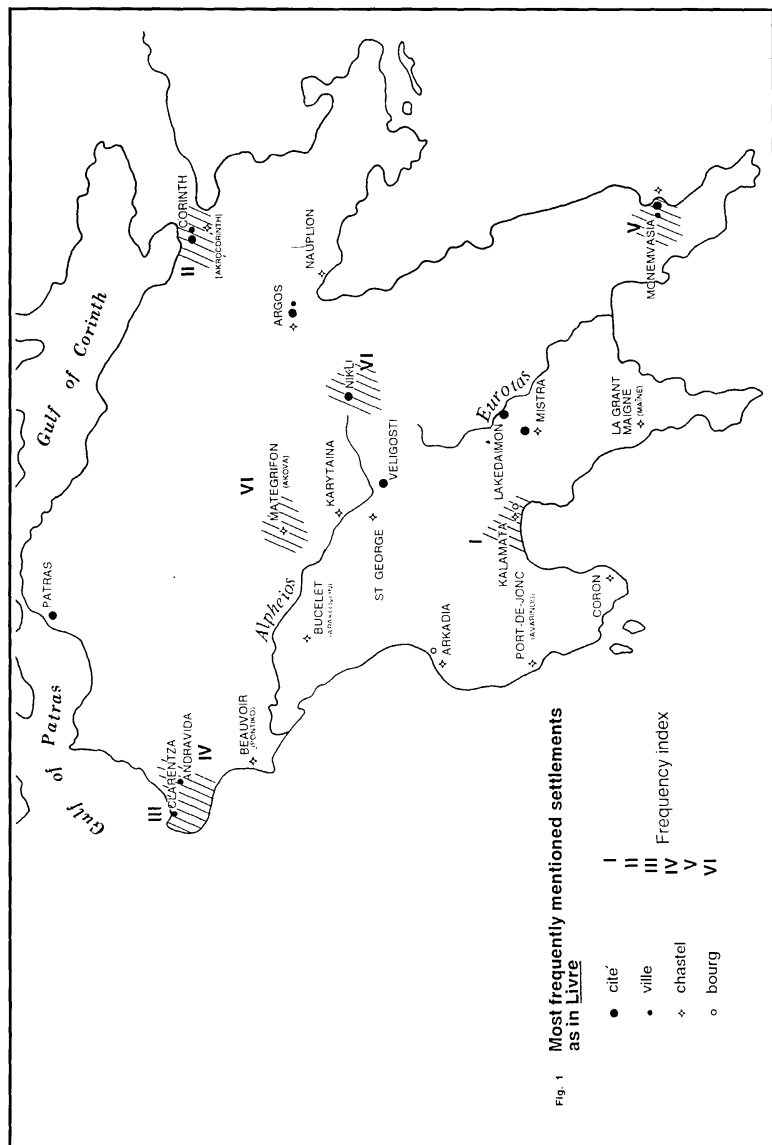
In terms of 'terminology' the unique reference to Argos as *polis* could have been influenced by a French 'cité'. Most significant is the usage of *kastron* not only as the equivalent of town. An opposition between *kastron* as castle and outer settlement is discernible. Thus, in our texts *chora*, while in general still designating a town of importance, also refers to a lower unfortified town (Argos) and to an outer — fortified (Patras, Corinth), or unfortified (Nikli, Veligosti) — town. The fact that in *Chronikon* it is the only label of Clarentza — the walling of which Bon dates to the thirteenth century — while the *kastron* emerges in the later 'Chronicle of the Tocco', cannot therefore be attributed to a translation from a French 'ville'.[154]
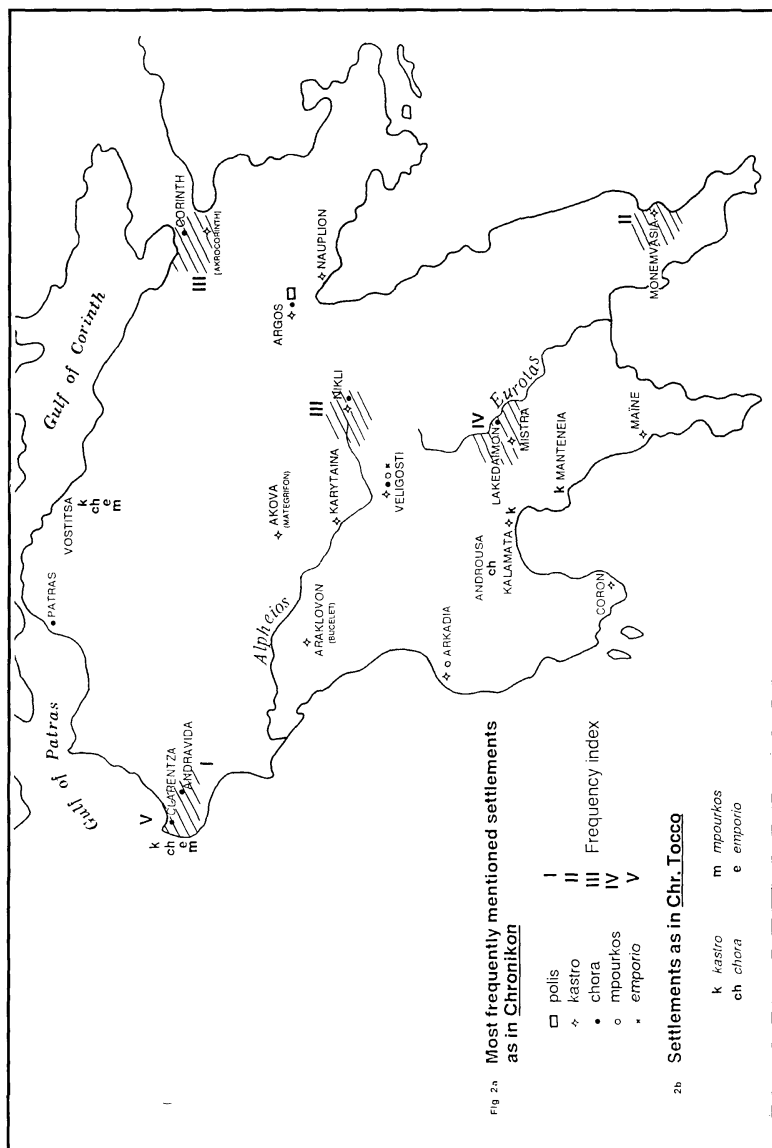
---

154. On Bon's statement see *La Morée* 323-4. *Libro*'s para 217 however might be coming from a Greek phrasing.

The later Epirote text, as we saw, is specifically interested in pillage and conquest, also attesting to economic and social development: it is this 'chronicle' that masters the notions of opulence and fascination lacking in the 'Chronicle of the Morea'. The wary fortress mentality of the Moreot compilers echoes what Raimbault of Vacqueyras preached in the summer of 1205.

Sofia, Bulgaria

Fig. 1 Most frequently mentioned settlements as in <u>Livre</u>

- ● cité
- · ville
- ✧ chastel
- ○ bourg

Frequency index
- I
- II
- III
- IV
- V
- VI

Fig 2a **Most frequently mentioned settlements as in Chronikon**

□ polis
✦ kastro
● chora
○ mpourkos
× emporio

I
II
III   Frequency index
IV
V

2b **Settlements as in Chr. Tocco**
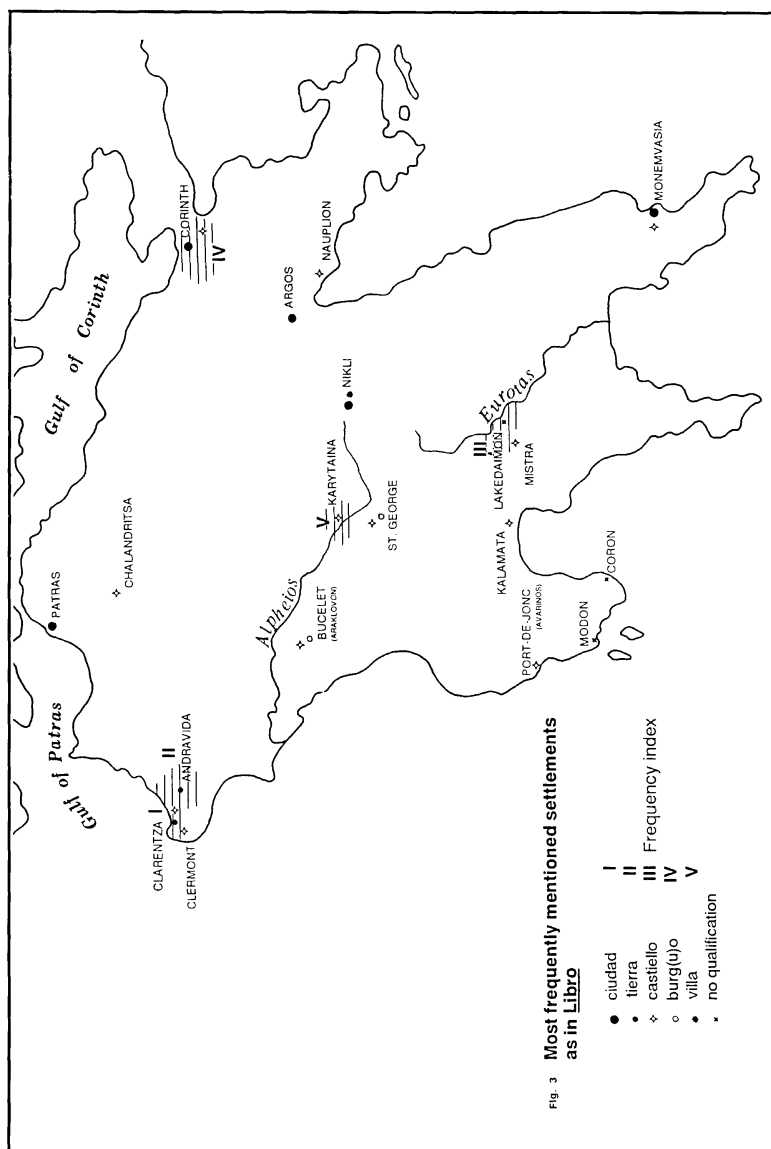
k kastro   m mpourkos
ch chora   e emporio

Fig. 3   Most frequently mentioned settlements as in Libro

●	ciudad
●	tierra
✣	castiello
○	burg(u)o
●	villa
▪	no qualification

I	
II	
III	Frequency index
IV	
V	

119